/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended:
186 the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they
184 are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani
191 society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests
184 itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center
186 of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of
[582] cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

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/186 cont./
619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
594
474

/186 cont./
619 182 184 596 594 474 [613] existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside. The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage), and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. [177] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 182 184 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 596 594 474 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot